

## 摘要

语言规划(Language Planning)是政府或社会团体对语言文字及其使用进行的有组织、有目的的、有计划的人工干预与管理。美国语言学家豪根(Einar Haugen)1959年提出语言规划概念,1969年德国语言学家克洛斯(Heinz Kloss)区分了两种不同的语言规划,即本体规划(corpus planning)和地位规划(status planning)的语言规划二分法。本体规划是关于语言本身的规划;地位规划是关于语言在社会中地位的规划。语言规划本体/地位二分法的缺陷在于忽视了语言规划中社会因素的作用。在地位规划和本体规划后面,影响规划活动实施的社会文化因素、心理因素起着对地位规划和本体规划作价值判断的作用。在本体规划和地位规划的二分法基础上,Haarmann(1984)和Cooper(1989)先后提出声望规划(prestige planning)和习得规划(acquisition planning)。

Haarmann(1984)考察了很多语言规划失败案例之后,认为这些语言规划失败的原因在于虽然这些案例做了语言的本体规划和地位规划,但没有进行语言推广,语言规划者或者规划的语言缺少声望。因此,Haarmann提出了声望规划理论,在豪根框架基础上增加了第三种语言规划类型—声望规划。

声望规划是关于语言形象的规划,通过政府或社会团体有组织、有目的、有计划的宣传和推广活动建立良好语言形象,使语言更好地满足社会需要或更容易传播与推广。声望规划理论认为地位规划和本体规划是产出性(receptive)活动,而声望规划是接受性(productive)功能,它会影响地位规划和本体规划如何由规划者实行并被受众接受。声望规划理论提出政府、机构、利益集团与个人在语言规划中代表了不同的声望和语言推广效率,会影响到语言规划的成功与否。声望规划理论的提出对于语言规划具有重要意义,有助于我们对于语言规划层级的理解,弥补了豪根语言规划矩阵的不足,完善了语言规划体系。

国内外学者对语言声望规划进行了一些研究,提出了一些声望规划理论框架,如Haarmann(1990)、Kaplan和Baldauf(2003)、Baldauf(2006)等。在已有的声望规划理论框架中,Baldauf(2006)框架简洁明了,具有可操作性。该语言声望规划框架包括语言推广和语言智识化两部分。语言推广主要有政府、机构、利益集团和个人四个层级的行动者,智识化则是通过语言培育规划,将语言打造成不同语域的语言翘楚,使之成为在科学技术、各行各业、高雅文化或者外交场合中使用的语言。

目前,语言规划类型中本体、地位和习得规划研究颇丰,语言声望规划的理论探讨和实践活动还只是略具雏形,尚无系统地梳理和分析,在理论框架验证和规划案例分析方面的尝试少见,是一个值得关注的话题。

语言声望规划关注语言推广与传播、语言形象等问题。语言对外传播或推广的能力和程度已经被视为国家软实力和国际影响力的重要指标之一。语言声望和形象是国家形象的组成部分,不仅是战略资源,更是“软实力”的核心之一。世界各国重视语言文化推广,先后设立语言文化推广机构,扩大其语言国际受众数量和影响力。中国重视中文的语言传播,创设孔子学院助推中文国际传播。在中文国际传播中构建中文语言形象,提高中文声望日渐重要。有意识对语言声望进行规划将有助于提升语言地位、语言竞争力,扩大语言学习人群,增强语言认同感和语言文化自信,有利于国内外的中文教育和中文传播。中文的语言声望问题为学术界所关注,已成为一个热点研究话题。但对于如何理解和规划语言的“声望”,一直众说纷纭,缺少操作路径,这样会导致语言规划和推广机构无章可循,因此声望规划研究成为一个亟待解决的现实问题。

目前英国文化教育协会在全球 100 多个国家设有 178 个办事处,在 50 多个国家设立了 83 个专业的英语推广和培训中心,已成为国外语言文化推广机构的典型代表。自 1934 年成立以来英国文化教育协会在英语全球推广做了大量声望规划工作,在规划英语语言声望、构建英语语言形象、推广英语等实践颇为丰富,为声望规划理论的验证和构建提供了充足的素材和支撑。研究英国文化教育协会可有助于我们增进语言声望规划和传播的规律性认识,可为中文声望规划和中文国际传播提供有益借鉴。

本研究旨在深入研究声望规划的理论架构,拟以 Baldauf(2006)理论框架为切入点,借助对英国文化教育协会近 90 年的语言推广案例的分析,检验理论架构,验证现有声望规划理论框架的解释力和完备性,同时,探索声望规划实施之路径,探讨对中文声望规划的启示。具体细化为以下 2 个问题:

1. 以 Baldauf(2006)理论框架为切入点,以英国文化教育协会语言文化推广活动为案例,研究语言声望规划语言推广行动者有哪些?英国文化教育协会如何对英语进行智识化?语言声望规划采用何种规划路径?

2. 英国文化教育协会的语言推广活动分析对语言声望规划理论建构和实践有何启示?

针对上述研究问题,以 Baldauf(2006)的语言声望规划框架为理论分析框架,采用历史-文本分析法,自建英国文化教育协会历史文本语料库,利用质性研究工具 NVivo12 软件,辅以语料库话语分析等手段,通过相关历史文献和政策文

本对英国文化教育协会的推广活动进行分类分析,总结英国文化教育协会语言声望规划的实施路径,尝试分析和验证语言声望规划的理论架构和具体实施路径。

本研究的主要发现如下:

第一,声望规划理论上,Baldauf(2006)理论框架能分析和解释英国文化教育协会的语言推广和语言智识化活动,该理论框架具有可操作性和解释力。

语言推广方面,Baldauf(2006)理论框架中政府、机构、利益集团和个人四个层面的行动者在英国文化教育协会案例中显著存在。研究发现,语言推广的四个层级的行动者还可以进一步细分,增加对象国的相对应的层级的行动者。国际语言推广组织的声望规划行动者除了包括推广方的四个层次的行动者之外,对象国对应的四个层级的行动者(对象国的政府、机构、利益集团和个人)对于语言声望规划的执行和落地起到不可或缺的作用,是国际语言推广组织语言声望规划中不可忽视的力量。随着科学技术的发展,网络和媒体逐渐日益成为语言推广的重要推手,也应该被视为声望规划的行动者。上述行动者在语言推广中构成了一个相互作用的行动者网络,共同促进语言的推广,但在不同时期不同阶段,四个层次的行动者的作用各有不同。

语言智识化方面,Baldauf(2006)理论框架中科学之语、雅文化之语、外交之语和行业之语等可以解释英国文化教育协会的英语智识化活动。研究表明语言声望规划不仅仅是局限于规划语言本身。语言的声望依附于艺术、教育、科技等载体。脱离这些载体,单谈语言,语言声望规划就是无源之水,无本之木。

研究发现,Baldauf(2006)理论框架不能完全涵盖和解释英国文化教育协会的英语语言声望规划活动。研究认为目前的语言声望规划框架还应该增加“形象塑造”,形象塑造包括话语构建和语言品牌化。形象塑造是目前语言声望规划分析框架中尚缺的部分,本研究提出声望规划新框架(包括语言推广、语言智识化、形象塑造),对声望规划理论框架进行了完善和修改。

第二,声望规划实践上,英国文化教育协会开展的声望规划活动清晰呈现了语言推广行动者和语言智识化,对以后的语言声望规划实践具有借鉴意义,对语言推广机构研究提供参考。

目前的声望规划理论通常认为地位、本体和习得规划具有产出性,是规划过程,而声望规划是接受性的,是一种规划的结果。本研究通过英国文化教育协会案例分析发现,声望规划兼具接受性和产出性;既是规划结果,更是一种持久连续的规划过程。英国文化教育协会语言推广的行动者也分为产出方和接受方。语言声望规划呈现时空地域差异,行动者亦随时空而变化。英国文化教育协会在不同时间和地域依靠不同行动者采用不同的语言推广活动,如在欧洲、拉美和中国

的行动者具有差异。英国文化教育协会开展的“地铁上的诗歌”“英语语言文学年”“非凡英语”“韧性之语”等声望规划典型案例中，各个行动者构成了一个相互作用的行动者网络，共同完成声望规划活动。英国文化教育协会语言声望规划典型案例较为清晰地呈现了语言声望规划的过程和路径，有助于语言声望规划的实施。

在声望规划智识化路径上，英国文化教育协会通过科学、技术、艺术、教育、外交等载体将英语打造成为“科技之语”“高雅文化之语”“外交之语”“行业之语”等。英国文化教育协会通过建立专业咨询委员会、书刊推介、建图书馆、鼓励书评、翻译、拍摄科学电影、外派科学人员等方式宣传科学，帮助增加英语的文献量，促进英语的传播，实现“科技之语”智识化目标。英国文化教育协会将语言和航空、体育、石油等行业联系起来，推广专门用途英语，扩大语言的使用范围，增强了语言的功能和声望。英国文化教育协会在“雅文化之语”方面的努力主要在三方面：一是在各国举办演出和展览；二是发行杂志；三是提供艺术资源。英国文化教育协会除了谋求国际组织中英语作为外交语言地位之外，不断在各国援助培训外交人员，巩固英语作为外交语言的地位。

在形象塑造方面，英国文化教育协会一方面通过自塑正面的机构形象，另一方面塑造了良好的语言形象。英国文化教育协会通过语言这个载体构建英语语言声望品牌话语，先后提出英语是“共同语言”“世界语言”“全球语言”“首选语言”等。本文认为，以前和时下流行的术语“世界英语”“全球英语”等是英国文化教育协会对英语语言声望话语构建的产物。

论文共分八章。绪论部分阐述研究的背景、目的、方法、意义和发现。第二章为语言声望概念及文献综述。简述了语言规划的历史，对语言声望规划相关概念进行了系统梳理和厘定，讨论了语言声望规划理论框架的演进，最后梳理了国内外语言声望规划研究，呈现了语言声望规划研究的学术演进史。第三章介绍了英国文化教育协会，概述了英国文化教育协会的成立背景、历史发展、运行与管理、业务活动、经费来源、作用及影响、语言推广情况、年度报告、名称问题以及在华语言推广情况。第四章为研究设计，讨论了研究对象、研究问题、研究框架、语料来源、数据收集和数据分析方法。第五章总结了英国文化教育协会在全球的语言推广，分析了英国文化教育协会的声望规划典型案例，探讨了英国文化教育协会语言推广中政府、机构、利益集团、个人和媒体等行动者，提炼出声望规划行动者网络。

第六章分析了英国文化教育协会语言声望规划的智识化，探讨了英国文化教育协会如何通过科学、技术、艺术、教育、外交等载体将英语打造成为“科技之

语”“高雅文化之语”“外交之语”“行业之语”等。第七章认为 Baldauf(2006)理论框架能分析和解释英国文化教育协会的语言推广和语言智识化活动,但不能完全涵盖和解释英国文化教育协会的英语语言声望规划活动。因此对声望规划理论框架进行了完善和修改,在语言声望规划框架中增加了“形象塑造”,形象塑造通过话语构建或语言品牌化实现。第八章结论部分为研究发现,阐发研究对中文国际推广的启示,并对未来声望规划研究进行展望。

**关键词:** 语言声望规划; 英国文化教育协会; 语言推广; 行动者; 智识化; 形象塑造

## Abstract

Language Planning is an organised, deliberated and planned intervention and management of language and its use by the government or social groups. American linguist Einar Haugen proposed the Language Planning in 1959. German linguist Heinz Kloss suggested in 1969 the distinction of two different plannings, namely Corpus Planning (about the language per se) and Status Planning (about the social status of language). The criticism of corpus/status dichotomy of language planning is that it ignores the role of social, cultural and psychological factors played in language planning. Those factors affect and evaluate the implementation of Status and Corpus planning activities. Thence, Haarmann(1984) put forward Prestige Planning and Cooper(1989) Acquisition Planning.

Haarmann(1984) investigated many failure cases of language planning, and argued that the reason behind the failure of language planning was that the planners did not carry out language promotion, or the language planners or the language planned lacked prestige, although Corpus and/or Status planning of language done. On this basis, Haarmann proposed the Prestige Planning as a third category of language planning to enrich the Haugen's dichotomic framework.

Prestige Planning is about the planning of language image, which is to establish a good language image through organised, deliberated and planned publicity and promotion activities of the government or social groups, so as to make the language better meet the social needs or easier to spread and promote. Prestige Planning theory holds that Status Planning and Corpus Planning are productive activities, while Prestige Planning is receptive, which will affect how Status and Corpus Planning are implemented by planners and accepted by the target group. Prestige Planning claims that the governments, institutions, pressure groups and individuals represent different prestige and efficiency in language planning, which will affect the success of language planning. Prestige Planning is of great significance to language planning in that it contributes to better understanding of language planning and enriches Haugen's language planning framework and improves the language planning system.

Scholars at home and abroad have done sporadic research on Prestige Planning and come up with some Prestige Planning theoretical frameworks such as

Haarmann(1990), Kaplan & Baldauf (2003), Baldauf(2006), etc. among which, Baldauf(2006)'s framework is concise and operable. Baldauf(2006)'s framework involves language promotion and intellectualisation. There are four levels of actors in language promotion: government, institution, pressure group and individuals. Intellectualisation is to cultivate a language to see that the language is used in high prestige domains such as in science and technology, professions, high culture and diplomacy.

At present, the theoretical discussion and practical activities of Prestige Planning lacks in systematic studies of validation of its theoretical frameworks, case studies or viable approaches to planning process.

Prestige Planning is concerned with language promotion and language image. Language promotion has been regarded as one of the important indices of a nation's soft power and international impact. Language prestige and image are not only strategic resources, but also a soft power. Countries all over the world attach importance to language and culture promotion, and have successively set up language and culture promotion organisations to target their language international audiences and international influence. With the economic development, China has set great store by the promotion of Chinese language and has established organizations like Confucius Institutes to promote the international spread of Chinese. Thus it is increasingly important to build the image of Chinese language and improve the prestige of Chinese. Deliberated and conscious prestige planning will help to improve language status and language competitiveness, attract more language learners, enhance language identity and confidence, and is advantageous to Chinese language education and promotion at home and abroad. Chinese language prestige has attracted the attention of academia and has become a hot ongoing research topic. However, the theoretical frameworks of and the approaches to Prestige Planning is under-researched, which will be difficult for language planners and promotion institutions to implement the prestige planning activities. Therefore, the research on Prestige Planning has become an urgent and practical issue to be solved.

The British Council has established 178 offices in more than 100 countries and 83 language centres in over 50 countries in 2019 and become an epitome of language and culture promotion organisations. Since its inception in 1934, the British Council has undertaken a variety of activities in prestige planning, image building and global

promotion of English language, which provides sufficient materials for the validation and construction of Prestige Planning theory. The British Council can help us better our understanding of Prestige Planning, and validate the Prestige Planning theoretical frameworks and provide a useful reference for prestige planning of Chinese language and promotion.

This study is to validate the current theoretical Prestige Planning frameworks and investigate the operational approaches to Prestige Planning and shed light on prestige planning of Chinese language with the in-depth analysis of the case of the British Council. The research questions are as follows:

1. To what extent the prevailing Baldauf(2006)'s framework is valid and applicable to analyse the prestige planning activities in terms of language promotion and intellectualisation in the case of the British Council?

2. What are the implications of the analysis of language promotion activities of the British Council for the theoretical construct and implementation of Prestige Planning?

In view of the above research questions, taking Baldauf(2006) as the theoretical analysis framework, this study adopted the historical-textual approach to analysing the relevant historical documents and policy texts of the British Council, with the aid of the qualitative research tool NVivo12, supplemented by corpus analysis. The study analysed planning routes behind the British Council's prestige planning and theoretically validated Baldauf(2006)'s theoretical framework.

The major findings of this study are as follows:

*Theoretically*, Baldauf(2006)'s theoretical framework can analyse and explain the language promotion and language intellectualisation activities of the British Council. The theoretical framework is operable and explanatory.

For the Language Promotion component in Baldauf(2006)'s framework, four actors (government, institutions, pressure groups and individuals) are identified and significant present in the prestige planning activities carried out by the British Council.

The dissertation argues that actors of language promotion should also include the corresponding levels of local actors of the target country, namely, the local government, local institutions, local pressure groups and individuals in the target country who are the forces that cannot be ignored in the prestige planning of international organizations like the British Council. In addition to the four levels of actors of the productive side,



the four counterparts in the target country play an indispensable role in the implementation of the Prestige Planning. With the advance of science and technology, internet and media has gradually become an important force of language promotion, and should also be regarded as the actor of language promotion. All the above actors work in a concerted effort to form an interactive actor network in language promotion. The four levels of actors jointly contribute to language promotion, but roles vary in different periods and stages.

For intellectualisation, the British Council has intellectualised English as *the language of science and technology, the language of high culture, the language of diplomacy* and *the language of professions*, which is highly congruent with Baldauf (2006)'s framework. The research shows that language prestige planning is not merely focused on the planning of the language proper, also resorts to science, technology, art, education, diplomacy and other carriers.

The findings demonstrate that Baldauf(2006)'s theoretical framework with two components of language promotion and intellectualisation cannot fully cover and account for the prestige planning activities of the British Council for English language. A new component named *Image Building* is suggested to be added to the Prestige Planning framework. Image building is achieved through discourse planning and language branding. This study supplements and proposes a refined framework of language Prestige Planning.

For the *practice* and implementation of Prestige Planning, the prestige planning activities of the British Council reveal a relatively clear road map to implement language prestige planning, which is conducive to carry out the language promotion.

Meanwhile, the current theories purport that Prestige Planning is receptive and a planning result while other planning activities such as status, acquisition or corpus planning are productive and a planning process. Through the examination of the British Council, this study argues that Prestige Planning is both receptive and productive. The British Council's language prestige planning presents the regional and temporal differences. In Europe, Latin America or China, the British Council has carried out different language promotion activities in different stages. As revealed in the four typical projects carried out by the British Council (*Poems on the Underground, the UK–Russia Year of Language and Literature, English is GREAT* and *Language for Resilience*), all the actors in the prestige planning constitute an interactive actor network

and jointly contribute to language promotion. The projects of British Council clearly display the process and approach of language prestige planning, which is efficacious to the implementation of language prestige planning.

The detailed analysis of the intellectualisation of English language by the British Council indicates, through science, technology, art, diplomacy and other fields, the British Council has intellectualised English as *the language of science and technology*, *the language of high culture*, *the language of diplomacy* and *the language of professions*. The British Council has publicized science by establishing a professional advisory committee, presenting books and periodicals, establishing libraries, encouraging book reviews, translation, shooting scientific films and sending scientific personnel abroad, so as to help increase the amount of English literature, promote the spread of English and achieve the intellectualisation goal of English as “the language of science and technology”. The British Council has connected English with aviation, sports, petroleum and other industries, promoted English for Special Purposes, expanded the domains of language use, and enhanced the function and prestige of the English language. The British Council's efforts in “the language of high culture” are mainly in three aspects: first, holding performances and exhibitions in various countries; second, presenting magazines; third, providing art resources. In addition to seeking the status of English as a diplomatic language in international organizations, the British Council continues to assist and train diplomats in various countries to consolidate the status of English as a diplomatic language.

As for Image Building, the British Council has, on the one hand, created a positive organisational image by self-shaping to facilitate the language promotion. On the other hand, it has fostered a good and favourable language image. The British Council fabricated English language prestige with branding and discursive construction. It has successively and successfully proposed that English is the *common language*, *the world language*, *the global language* and *the preferred language*.

The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 describes the research background, purpose, research design, significance and major findings. The second chapter introduces the history and the concept of language Prestige Planning. It briefly describes the history of language planning, systematically combs the definition of Prestige Planning. Then it sketches the evolution of the theoretical frameworks of Prestige Planning. Finally, it clarifies terminological issues of Prestige Planning and

provides the literature review of Prestige Planning. Chapter 3 profiles the British Council. The fourth chapter is the research design. Chapter 5 discusses the four levels of actors in the process of language promotion, namely, governments, institutions, pressure groups and individuals. Chapter 6 analyses the intellectualisation of prestige planning of British Council. Chapter 7 suggests that Image Building should be added to Prestige Planning framework. The last chapter is the conclusion which summarizes the research findings of the above chapters, expounds the research implications and the future directions of the prestige planning research.

**Key words:** Prestige Planning; British Council; Language Promotion; Actors; Intellectualisation; Image-building